

*CORRESPONDENCE FROM ENGLAND.*

My residence is nearly three miles from my city place of business, and I always walk home in an afternoon, when the weather will permit my doing so. Being desirous of seeing as much of this mighty aggregation of human beings as I can, and of casting at least a passing look upon as many as possible of the old buildings and places which history or individual circumstance may have rendered famous, I vary my walks in every direction; and as I always perform my peregrinations in daylight, and with pockets as nearly empty as possible, I venture into by-ways, courts, alleys, and passages, which I should not dare to approach but under these protections, and confidence in the very excellent police. By these varied and various journeymen I have become more intimately acquainted with the state of London society, and the condition of those classes of the population which constitute the overwhelming majority of the two millions of human beings who are brought together within its vortex, than any one can do who confines his walks either to the gay streets at the west end, or the crowded marts of business in the city. I wish that this more intimate investigation of mine had a tendency to increase my satisfaction, either as to the physical and worldly condition, or the moral and mental state of the mass of the inhabitants of this modern Babylon. Alas, the reverse is most decidedly the case! Every day my heart is pained by the sight of suffering which I cannot alleviate, of ignorance which I cannot remove, and of vice which I cannot correct. Strange to say, but it really is so, the number of these objects in their human dens (for I cannot give them a better name) diminishes to a more tolerable degree the pain and sorrow which would be caused by the contemplation of any individual case; but now and then it happens that the appearance of some miserable being is so strongly marked with suffering and degradation as to refuse to have its effect obliterated by succeeding ones. A momentary glance fixes a sort of daguerreotype impression upon the memory, that accompanies you to your fireside and to your bed for days and nights afterwards. But I will not dilate upon this painful subject, anxious as I am to see the cause, and to report of nothing but good to the public mind. After a walk last night more than usually fruitful in painful objects, my impressions as to the miserable and melancholy associations, and the generally fruitless and unimproving nature of the sort of *future* which I apprehend *present* appeared naturally to conduct me to the reflections which I now propose to conduct. I fell into a train of reflections as to the causes of what I had seen and its remedy. Let me briefly, in the absence of public matters of interest, recapitulate my reflections.

The population of that vast aggregate of streets and houses, known under the general name of London, was in 1841 ascertained to be very nearly 2,000,000; the annual increase, since that date is calculated to be about 40,000; so that the present population is, in round numbers, 2,250,000. The classification of this vast amount of human life is not a very easy matter. The Post Office Directory for the present year enumerates very nearly 100,000 houses of business under the commercial alphabet, and about 27,000 names in the court and fashionable list. Now, supposing that these names are each representative of a family, and that the family of a man of business, including domestic servants, consists on an average of six persons; and that of a peer, official dignity, or fashionable man at the court end, consists of twelve on an average, we shall have 924,000 as the number of persons immediately connected with or living in the families of these two classes. But we may add at least one to each of the houses of business for clerks, warehousemen, &c., and there will be many of them who have families; taking these families at an average of three, there will be 300,000 more to connect with the commercial classes, and the business and court or fashionable parts of the population will be represented by 1,224,000, call it 1,250,000, and we have a million more to apportion. Now, if we suppose that half this number consists of persons in small retail shops, day working mechanics and laborers, cabmen, porters, and others who are really necessary to such a population, and who therefore may depend upon receiving wages or remuneration adequate to their necessary wants, we shall still have half a million of human beings who are floating loose upon the surface of society, dependent upon the accidents of the day for the food of the day, adding no strength to any of the world's great interests, because unconnected with any of them, but opposed to them all, because they feed in their craving appetites and insatiable desires, that there is nothing in this world which is friendly to them. But this may be an overcharged calculation. It will be well to hope that it is, but an afraid that it is not. I will suppose, however, that half these 500,000 persons may receive employment and adequate provisions as laborers, occasional workmen, &c., there will still be 250,000 to provide for; and if to these there be added the number of destitute wanderers from the provinces, starving Irish, and distressed continental foreigners, I am greatly afraid that the number of half-starved, half-fed, destitute human beings in this great metropolis and its suburbs, cannot be taken at this time as less than 300,000! A fearful amount of misery, and sufficient to account for all the painful sights which I have witnessed; all the degradation and crime which must accompany it, and all the apprehensions of the future which most fearfully oppress those who think most about it. My friends on both sides of the water have often regarded me as an *optimist*, and I acknowledge the charge, having as yet felt a greater pleasure (as well as taken, in my opinion, a more correct view of a superintending all-wise Providence) in looking on the bright side of things than on the dark, and in anticipating good rather than evil. I hope I have not taken an *optimist's* view of the condition of the population of London, but still I fear it is the *best* and most favorable view which can be taken of it.

The question for the philanthropist is, can this mass of misery and degradation be diminished? I am greatly afraid that it cannot. The business of London requires a vast number of working people to perform it—the great opposition in all branches of business causes it to be done at the smallest possible profit; the wages of the working men are reduced in proportion; they cannot afford time to attend to or money to educate their children; on the contrary, the children, so soon as they can earn sixpence, are made to do so, and to add to the family treasury. This ignorance is perpetuated, and with it comes improvidence, mental degradation, sensual gratification, and all the train of lamentable circumstances which give a tone and a character to a great part of London population. But not of London alone; it is so, more or less, in all great gatherings together of human beings; it is inseparable from great cities; it is the bitter tax which an advanced state of society has to pay for that advance. The more luxurious and refined one portion of a people become, the more depressed and degraded must all other portions be; at least it will be so, in all countries where the population tends to close upon the means of subsistence, and this depression and degradation must be in such countries fearfully augmented in all cases of scarcity of the necessities of life. Under such a calamity Great Britain is now suffering; and it is to be feared that the effects will continue to be felt long after the

the debate occasioned by the introduction of these resolutions, much light was thrown upon the monetary and commercial condition of England, particularly by Mr. Brown, the member for South Lancashire, and by Mr. Thos. Baring. The opinions of practical men of business like these are worth citing; and their statements may be depended upon, and a *very* great one it is, in the character of Sir R. Peel, his great practical knowledge, and his willingness always to yield to conviction, even in opposition to long-cherished opinions, and to individual feelings, party connexions, and previously expressed intentions.

Mr. Brown stated that there were in circulation in the bank notes more than forty millions of sovereigns; and was inclined to believe that a great relief would be experienced in the money market if the Bank of England was allowed to issue small notes to the amount, or to a great part thereof, of such specie circulation. Mr. Baring attributes much of the present pressure to the injudicious restriction upon bank issues under the enactments of Sir Robert Peel's bill of 1844; and Lord G. Bentinck cited a case where a house of business in London held £60,000 worth of silver bullion, but who could not obtain any assistance from the bank in consequence of the restriction. Mr. Brown attributes the pressure in the money market to famine and the consequent high price of grain, to the absorption of capital by railway speculations, to the high price of cotton, and to the bank restriction. It was stated, during the debate, that the entire paper circulation of the Bank of England and the country banks at this time amounted to forty millions of pounds sterling. I remember, when evidence was taken before a committee of your House of Representatives, some years ago, with respect to the proportion which ought to exist between paper issues and specie, many experienced men stated their opinions to be that three dollars in paper might be safely issued for every dollar in specie in possession of the bank; but Sir Robert Peel's bill limits the circulation of the bank to the amount of specie which it holds, save and except the fourteen millions which it is allowed to keep in circulation, for that amount of money owing to the bank from Government, and which the latter ought to pay in specie.

The cotton market here appears to be in a terrible state; the price is high, and manufacturers are *unable* to purchase, in many cases it is said *unable*, from their finding it *impossible* to obtain discounts from the banks. This scarcity of cash and the uncertainty which at present hangs over all money matters, have occasioned, it is said, many dealers in grain to countermand orders previously given for shipments from the United States.

MAY 11.—From some cause or other the price of breadstuffs has fearfully advanced during the last week, at least 10s. per quarter, and good wheat now fetches in Mark Lane from £5 to £5 10s. per quarter, or from \$2 75 to \$3.00 per bushel. We look to you, and to you only, for supplies. Continental Europe will have enough to do to take care of herself; the surplus of one part will scarcely supply the deficiency of another. Surely when your canals are open and the supplies are brought down to the seaboard, you will ship us an abundance; depend upon its fetching most ample remunerating prices; *for we must perish without it.*

Sir R. Peel admits that the principles of his bill regarding the bank are severely tested by present circumstances, but says that its enactments have saved the country from a much worse state of things, by controlling the issues of paper money, and thereby giving a confidence in the public mind. In our moneyed institutions. In 1816 and 1836, when previous pressures existed, the circulation of paper was in a great measure unrestricted, and failures took place to a grievous and ruinous extent. Not so at this time; *not one house of any eminence has given away*—there is great pressure but no panic; the pressure is regarded as *temporary*—the state of the country sound.

The declared value of the cotton imported this year is thirteen millions of pounds sterling. The year before it was twenty-three millions, and yet this year the price paid for pound has exceeded that of the *former* year. Does this arise from the shortness of the crop only, or are there not so obvious causes at work? Business is almost at a stand-still in Lancashire: out of 1,161 mills in that county 728 are now either closed or working short time; and of the 228,000 hands usually employed therein, more than 100,000 are now working short hours and 23,000 are *entirely unemployed*—another serious item in the suffering of the country.

MAY 13.—The weather is now deliciously fine, after some copious but gentle rains vegetation has taken a start which, even to me, accustomed as I have been for many years to the burst of the beautiful foliage of the American woods, is astonishing. The air feels perfect calm, and is full of genial influences and delightful effects. When a few miles from London, and beyond the range of its canopy of smoke, every thing wears an aspect as delightful as I can ever describe, or a poetically warmed-imagination conceived of. The apple, pear, and other fruit trees are in full bloom, and fill the air with fragrance, while the innumerable larks, blackbirds, thrushes, goldfinches, linnets, &c. load the breeze with melody. We nowhere so strongly feel the truth of the poet's line, that "God made the country and man made the town," as in this neighborhood, where, within fifteen minutes, the peculiar characteristics of country and town may be observed in their extreme degree; for nowhere does rural beauty exist in higher perfection than in some spots within a few miles of London, and in no place can the miseries and suffering and deprivation of a crowded city be so seen, felt, and understood, as in some parts of this vast metropolis. But yet the poet's sentiment is more antithetical than correct, for the rich and supreme beauty of the country round London is in a great measure owing to the industry, the skill, and the exertion of man as the misery of the town is owing to his errors, his follies, or his crimes; and if it be man who has filled the workhouse and peopled the jail, it is also man who has caused the wilderness to blossom like the rose.

One important effect of this delightful weather is the healthful and heart-cheering appearance which it has caused the growing wheat crops to exhibit; and, as a late harvest would of course increase the difficulty of our position, every thing which tends to produce an early one must have a directly contrary effect. There is also reason to suppose that the scarcity of the present year has induced a prudent attention to the growth of wheat in continental Europe. It is said that more than twice the usual quantity of land has been sown with wheat in Italy, and that there will be a great export of grain from thence next year.

I alluded in my last to a temporary relief which our money market had experienced from the investment of from two to three millions sterling in our funds by the Russian Government. It is now rumored that Mehmet Ali is about to invest a similar amount. These purchases show great confidence in our political and financial establishments, and are at the present time quite as useful as complimentary.

Lord John Russell paid a very high compliment to the character of the American people, when alluding to the benevolent and kind feeling which they had exhibited, not only in words but in deeds, towards the suffering Irish and Scotch, in a speech which he made a few days ago at the Mansion House. I know from high authority that the conduct of America, in this trying calamity, has elicited the warmest praise wherever it has been alluded to, and that it has been and will continue to be a great softener of prejudices. Weed it not for occasional vituperations in the Times, which probably sometimes is actuated by a zeal without knowledge, or at all events about its knowledge, and a fling in Douglas Jerrold's paper about the conduct of the Mexican war, in which it is likely a majority of the citizens of the United States agree with him, we should see nothing but symptoms of good feeling, kindness and respect. The Quarterly has softened much in its tone, and if it has not already become liberal, it is decelerly tending to be so. Mr. BACON, is growing rapidly in popularity. His celebrity as a man of letters, and the warm interest which he takes in all matters relating to science and art, render him an admirable successor to Mr. EVANS, and raise the standard of American character very much in this country. He was probably the very best election that Mr. Polk could make from among his party.

MAY 18.—The only news of the morning is not good news for the cotton-merchants, but, indeed, of the worst of the kind.

men last night expressed a hope that nothing serious was likely to occur, and stated that every precautionary step had been taken by the Government. "On the continent equal if not greater pressure and consequent suffering appear to exist, and we have statements of food-riots in Bohemia, Wurttemberg, Prussia, Belgium, &c. A very significant expression of the state of things in Austria is, that that Government has prohibited the exportation of grain.

The political state of Europe is one of more quietness and composure than it was some months ago. The Queen of Portugal has accepted the mediation of England, and has offered concessions to the people which will probably put an end to the rebellion. In Spain things are proceeding satisfactorily. The King and Queen appear to be on a good understanding. A rumor circulated for a few days that the life of the Queen had been ascertained, but the truth or falsehood of the report is not yet determined. A Madrid paper, and one which is said to speak the views of the Administration, in discussing the future policy of Spain, argues strongly to prove that it will be her policy to side with England rather than with France—a conclusion rather opposite to Louis Philippe's wishes, and not contemplated by him when he forfeited the confidence of England by the part he played in the Spanish marriage. In France there seems nothing of importance excepting the changes in the Ministry and the effects which such changes may have upon M. Guizot's popularity and power. The Pope is marching steadily along in his enlightened and philanthropic course. He has lately issued an edict directing the assembling of the States, with a view of inquiring into the situation of the people, and bettering their political, moral, and social condition.

Mr. Cobden has lately been visiting Tuscany, and, in a speech delivered in Florence, he has complimented the people highly for their enlightened commercial policy, and for their long-continued adherence to the principles of free trade. The Grand Duke of Tuscany has lately emancipated the press from the greater part of the restrictions which have hitherto prevented its useful operation. There is nothing so likely to emancipate and elevate Italy as a free and enlightened press; and such sovereignty as the present Pope and the reigning Duke of Tuscany give promise of a brighter day being about to dawn upon that beautiful and interesting country. One of the *on dits* of the day is that the crown of Greece has been or is about to be offered to Prince Louis Napoleon. Greece will get into a squabble with Turkey at last, unless she submits to the guidance of some wiser and cooler heads than at present control her affairs. There appears to be a taking of sides already by the Powers of Europe in this Greek and Turkish business. Russia agrees with England in her support of Turkey, whilst France is decidedly on the side of Greece. The Prince de Joinville has taken the command of a squadron of French ships in the Mediterranean, and Sir Charles Napier will soon hoist his flag as commander of a squadron of English ones. There is not, however, any absolute demonstration of war in these preliminary movements; they are only precautionary, and indicative of national feeling.

Mehemet Ali is achieving wonders in Egypt by drainages, road making, canal-digging, &c. The whole population is employed in such filling up marshes, building villages, &c. Most curious source of revenue has been discovered in Egypt, none other than that to be derived from the *fine linen* in which the immense deposits of *mummies* are wrapped, when applied to the manufacture of paper. Calculations have been made, founded upon *mummy statistics*, which show the linen swaddings of these ancient Egyptians to be worth twenty-one millions of dollars. The *Athenaeum* of last Saturday gives the calculation at length, but adds, cautiously, if it be worth *half* the money it is no inconsiderable amount.

I am grieved to report that the price of wheat has advanced full 7s. per quarter upon that of the last week, and symptoms of still further advance. The consumption of Indian meal is rapidly increasing in Lancashire and also in London. There is a report that a Russian ukase has been issued prohibiting the exportation of grain. Again I say, and repeat it *emphatically*, it is to the United States alone that we can look for supplies of food. Surely, surely you can send them. In the mean time famine and fever are doing their deadly work in Ireland. A quarantine has been established at Liverpool upon all vessels coming from Ireland. The *favorites* at the *former place* are filled to overflowing. More than 100,000 of the destitute Irish have left Ireland since the first of January, are believed to be in Liverpool. During the last four weeks 45,216 have landed there, and most of them have applied for relief. In the same period last year only 1824 applied for assistance. How alarming the contrast!

In Manchester, out of 177 manufacturing establishments, only 98 are working full time, 50 are working short time, and 29 have stopped working entirely; and out of 40,333 operatives only 21,957 receive full employment, 9,287 work short time, and 9,309 are earning nothing. This is, indeed, a terrible picture; I wish it was not a true one. Our money market is still very tight; but how can it be easy if the following calculations, made by Mr. Allison, be correct? He says that the total amount of gold, silver, and paper in circulation is only fifty-six millions of pounds sterling; but that, when compared with the circulation of 1820, if it had kept pace with our exports, it might be one hundred and twenty millions; if with our imports, it ought to be ninety-six millions; if with the increase of shipping, ninety-four millions; and if with the increased population, seventy-two millions. Add to this the fact that the railway calls for money *now* and will continue to be, for two years more, *one million sterling per week*; and the wonder is that the market is not still tighter. Some hope is entertained that foreign capitalists may equalize exchange and ease our pressure by the investment of funds in our railroads. I believe some purchases have been made. The ten-hours' factory bill passed to a second reading in the House of Lords last night by a large majority. There is no doubt of its ultimate passage.

In Theatricals we have nothing new but the most triumphant debut of Jenny Lind, and her increasing fame at each appearance. The press is literally *unanimous* in its praise of her astonishing excellence. Fanny Elssler has also made her appearance at Covent Garden, and is pronounced to excel even her former self. Mrs. Butler has been performing at the Princess Theatre: she has received great praise, but has not escaped severe criticism. Her "*Year of Consolation*" has received much attention from the critics, and in general has been highly spoken of. The Post Laureate (Wordsworth) is preparing an ode to be performed at the approaching inauguration of Prince Albert as Chancellor of Cambridge University. The magazines for the month are all very poor; Donkey and Son very flat and unworthy of its author, who seems trifling with the Public. Some of the reviews speak highly of a new novel entitled "*Kanthorpe*." I have not seen it.

FROM THE PETERSBURG (S. A.) INTELLIGENCER.

"FEDERALISTS."—Whenever the Locofoco party are in a strait, and don't know how to get out with white bones, they raise the cry of "Federalist" against their opponents. So much is their practice, that the iteration and reiteration of this talismanic word by the press of that power worshipping as the Government, indicates foul weather to them as the fall of the barometer denotes it in the physical world.

The late Governor BARBOUR—who, in his peculiar way, was the best anecdote teller we ever knew—used to tell a man, in 1840, who, having got "*uncouf*" at a grog-shop, staggered to the vicinity of a camp-meeting, where he laid himself down on the grass and went to sleep. Having partly awaked, he indicated foul weather to them by the sound of loud speaking, and in going in the direction of the noise, he found himself in the presence of a large audience, who he thought were listening to a stump speech. The preacher—for such he was—was in full swing, and in loud and fearful tones proclaimed the dreadful sentence, "Unless you repent, you shall be damned!" To which the drunken man replied, "that's a damned fethered lie."

LAWLESS DOINGS.—A letter from Goodrich county, Virginia, gives an account of a most disgraceful and lawless proceeding, on the part of a mob, which assembled to witness the execution of two negroes who had been sentenced to death on the 29th ultimo. The court had ordered that the execution should be private, and preparations had been made accordingly; but, when the day arrived, a crowd of eight or ten armed persons assembled at the court-house, and demanded that the negroes should be executed publicly. The jailor and police officers remonstrated with them, but were told that if their demand was not complied with they would pull the jail down. Resistance being useless, the jail-yard was opened to the mob, who rushed in *en masse*, dug up the gallows from where the authorities had erected it, carried it out to the front of the court-house, and then, in the presence of the mob, re-erected it, and then, in the presence of the mob, re-executed the two negroes.

FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA (HARRISBURG) TELEGRAPH.

public affairs, one can calculate what our position as a nation would be twelve months from this time. We are now engaged in a war which the people abominate. When we speak of the *People*, we mean the bone and sinew, the laborious agriculturist, the skillful and painstaking mechanic, the quiet, industrious, and sober citizen, the enterprising merchant and the busy manufacturer—all these, *all* who prefer peace, with its benign influence, to the tumult, distractions, and convulsions of *“red-vengeful war,”* all who prefer the pleasant and harmonious influences of the home fireside, the cultivation of the blooming fields and the bleating of flocks and herds, to the clangor of the battle-horn, the din of cannon, rattling of musketry, groans of the dying, and screams of departing spirits; who are opposed, nay, *wholly* opposed to the present war; to its inception, objects, and ultimate results, as contended for, advocated, and predicted by its warmest supporters. We do not mean to be understood that there are not vagabond editors, reckless and unprincipled politicians, greedy speculators, office beggars, and bankrupt merchants and manufacturers, who are not greedy for a chance to practice assassination and robbery, and they may reap *“adul reward”* at the expense of manhood and mercy! Such there are, yet *the people are opposed to the war. They love peace and yet the people are not opposed to the war.* They love peace for the sake of the people.

We, as a nation, are now in the attitude of striking down a Republic in embryo; one which is struggling to emerge from despotism, and designed to set us on establishing beyond peradventure that man is capable of self-government.

We are engaged in a struggle against its growing liberties; against the principles of republicanism; against the doctrine of rational freedom, under the restriction of no man's rights. It is said, it is said, owes our citizens. So be it: we admit it. She has refused or neglected to pay; let it be so. She has insulted our dignity; suppose she has. Still, is it an acknowledgment of these grievances? Is the collection of an acknowledged debt or the humbling of an imputed adversary the *only* object of the war? The answer is, *no*. The object of the war is conquest—is it not, at least, a matter of probable conjecture, that this war is waged for *conquest and slavery*? That we can ever receive our just dues for claims unpaid while we occupy our present position towards Mexico, none will assert. That she can ever repay the costs of the war, even if it be at the expense of the lives of a helpless confederacy. Into what a dreadful position we are hurrying by the issue of this war! Where there will stand the *temple of human liberty*, at whose shrine our fathers worshipped? We fear that our existence as a *Republic* will be blotted out, and that history will write the epitaph upon our remembrance, as it has upon the republics of antiquity. The despotic power, faltering at the pride, and military ambition, coupled with the religious fanaticism of our species, will ultimately overthrow the pillars of our republican superstructure, and leave but a wreck behind. The present war, waged for *conquest and slavery*—brought in, sin, brought forth in iniquity—nursed by unholy passions, and unbridled desire, will be a long strife (we fear) in our downward career. The contest will be long, and so slight, and might have been so easily avoided by skillful diplomacy, that after generations will inquire, *“Cui boni?”* for whose good was this great evil enacted? History will deprecate and positively denounce the sacrilegious disposition of our Government in their attempt to invade the sacredness of national territory. The masses of the people, on the other hand, churches in Mexico, and rifling the temples of God, and the work of *conquest and slavery*. It is too late for the Administration to deny that it has entertained this design. Disguise and explain as it may, the fever has been put forth by *authority*. The united voices of American freemen have uttered a protest, and the people, in their unhesitating and unhesitating of the motive and the aim, will be unable to see that it would seem, to absolute and unconditional possession and occupancy. The longer it is continued the less ability and the less motive will the Mexican people have to make reparations where they have erred; and the greater and more rapid will be the progress of the war. The question is, *What our condition will be a twelve-month hence* can we determine?

FROM THE CINCINNATI DAILY ATLAS.

CHARLES I. AND PRESIDENT POLK.—The theory of the British Government is, that all political powers are originally derived from the King. At the present day, however, the powers of Government are distributed somewhat as they are under our constitution, among various departments; but those now claimed by the King have been conveyed by successive grants to the People and Parliament. When, therefore, it becomes a question, where is lodged a particular power, it is only necessary to look into Magna Charta and other grants from the King, to see whether the power in question is included among the grants. If not so found, it remains with the King, along with the whole mass of residuary powers not granted. Thus the power of declaring war, not having been granted, resides theoretically and practically in the King, though in that mighty monarchy this tremendous power is more effectually checked by the power of the Commons over supplies, than it seems to have been in a late instance in this “Model Republic,” where the power of declaring war as well as furnishing supplies belong exclusively to the Commons.

The theory of our Government, on the contrary, is, that all powers are originally derived from the people. The powers of our Government are such, and only such, as are granted by the people. The powers granted are expressed in the constitution; and all powers not so conveyed are reserved.

Under the British constitution, the King is the fountain of the King can do no wrong. Under ours, we have no such maxim, even with reference to the source of power, the People. Entire unanimity is never to be expected, and practically the government of the people is a government of the majority of them; it being an established principle that the greatest number is right. In the more numerous of two or more unequally divided bodies of men, the majority is right. The written constitutions derive from the admitted fact that majorities do not always act rightly; for if they never acted wrongfully, constitutions would be nothing more than mere formulas of idle abstractions. The restraint of constitutions is, to put a check upon power, to restrain its aggressive tendencies, to limit its exercise, to prevent its abuse, to prevent it from serving the rights of minorities against invasion by majorities, and thus ensure general tranquility, public prosperity, and popular liberties. In reference to the interpretation of the relative powers of the several departments of our Government, it is a settled rule of exposition that the constitution is a *legislative* document, and that the *grant* is the *legislative* and Judicial Departments; in other words, that the Legislature may exercise all powers not forbidden, while the other departments can exercise none but those expressly granted. The limitations upon Legislative powers are not only the expressed prohibitions, such as the forbidding of the passage of *ex post facto* laws, but the reserved rights of the States and the grants other than the express prohibitions of the constitution, curtailed, or extended. The practical value of this rule will be the more appreciated, when it is remembered that the very idea of a written constitution implies the grant of all powers necessary to Government; and its application is demanded in the face of doubt as to the lodgment and distribution of particular powers, from obscurity or inexplicitness in the terms of the grant.

Charles I. was indolent, in an age remarkable for peculiar and strong dogmas, in the highest notions of the extent of royal power. Holding and exercising the war and treaty powers, he contracted alliances, became entangled in foreign wars, and was the cause of the death of his subjects, and of the loss of his life, by the sword of a subject. He was not only legally, if not actually, contracted with his allies. Grudgingly and inadequately supplied by Parliament, he levied “ship money,” that is, exacted “military contributions” (as the phrase of our President's Court Journal is) from his own subjects to equip ships of war. This was resisted as an invasion of the rights of the people, and the King and his subjects were disputed led to a civil war and revolution, the result of which was that Charles was tried for treason, by his own subjects on the charge of making war against Parliament, condemning and beheading, and the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

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Charles I. was indolent, in an age remarkable for peculiar and strong dogmas, in the highest notions of the extent of royal power. Holding and exercising the war and treaty powers, he contracted alliances, became entangled in foreign wars, and was the cause of the death of his subjects, and of the loss of his life, by the sword of a subject. He was not only legally, if not actually, contracted with his allies. Grudgingly and inadequately supplied by Parliament, he levied “ship money,” that is, exacted “military contributions” (as the phrase of our President's Court Journal is) from his own subjects to equip ships of war. This was resisted as an invasion of the rights of the people, and the King and his subjects were disputed led to a civil war and revolution, the result of which was that Charles was tried for treason, by his own subjects on the charge of making war against Parliament, condemning and beheading, and the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

The revolution under Charles I. cost freedom the life-blood of Hampden in 1643; and Sidney was brought to the scaffold in 1649.

public of free men, whose revolutionary aims, in wresting the great country and the liberties of its people from the domination of Britain, drew their principles from the times of Hampden and Sidney. He has seen those principles enlarged and practically illustrated in the operation of the Government of the United States; he has seen them embodied in the Republic for the admiration, if not the imitation, of the other nations of the earth. And few citizens of this Republic have been more affluent in professions of admiration of our system and hatred of monarchy, and none have insisted more strenuously upon a strict construction of the powers granted by the State to the people than the Federalists of the new Mexico.

But at the Presidency, an office in some respects substantially equivalent to that of King of England, he gave orders for the movement of the army as were calculated necessarily, if not designed purposely, to produce inevitable war with a neighboring sister Republic, in which Congress was the sole war making power, though then in session, says Keyserling, "and the President was not even consulted."

It is true, it is true, that Mr. Taylor had no right or claim of prerogative asserted under the title of being President, to establish civil governments in conquered provinces and to enforce revenue laws in blackened ports, without the authority of Congress, as if all powers, executive or military, exercised or claimed in any age in any form of government, whether under King, Emperor, Czar, Sultan, or Pope, were his own private property, and he might do what he pleased under our limited constitution.

While Charles I. was ensuring his illegal exactions of silver money, besides other appliances, the sacred pulpit was profaned to the purpose of subduing opposition and seducing away the public into submission to his audacious doctrine of divine right, and the measures of oppression against the Scotch, the Puritans and Massachusetts, and industriously spread over the kingdom by order of the Court, designed to bring religious prejudices to the support of civil authority, in which the doctrine of the duty of passive obedience was asserted in its fullest extent: the whole authority of the State claimed as belonging to the King alone; and all limitations of constitution and law were utterly forgotten.

And so, in the same tyrannical spirit, though manifested under other forms and agencies, the same doctrine of passive obedience is now attempted to be enforced upon the freemen of this so called Republic, in favor of Executive infallibility, prerogative, and power. If a citizen, imagining himself aggrieved by the action of the Executive, wishes to test the constitution, laws, and public opinion, presume to examine his actions in the fearless spirit of freedom and candor, forthwith the story-hearted slaves of power and party resound the Moral Tragedy, first instigated by the President himself, *Moral Tragedy—Aid and Comfort to the Enemy! Mexican Whig!*

FROM THE NEW JERSEY "FREEDOMAN."

This Wauja, this dreadful, indeed, this atrocious War! How it engulfs the reason of the Nation, perverts its judgment, captivates its feelings, spills its precious blood, squanders with more prodigal waste its millions of money, paralyzes all its warm and virtuous affections, and fixes its eager gaze only upon fields of glory battle and bounds of provinces won! At the beginning, no man, public or private, had the hardihood to utter a word of conquest for territory; we only aimed to defend what was clearly our own, and hardly that. Now, prosres, politicians, statesmen, and believe the Administration itself, unhesitatingly claim indemnity for all the expenses of the war, and that must be in victory; and not a few would strike at once for the extinction or absorption of all Mexico!

Thus we progress; thus war leads us. This is its tyrannical spirit. Thus Republican France began by defending the integrity of its own limits, and ended by aiming to break down the boundaries of every nation it could reach; and Napoleon was bequeathed to accomplish that. Thus Great Britain sought to plant a little trading establishment in the East, and now counts whole nations and peoples, and empires under her sway, and still pants and pushes for more. And thus the United States moved her bristling cannon up, to prevent the Mexicans upon her borders, and now finds herself exclusively in the enemy's country, in a war of rapine and political extermination! And so it has been in all time past. Can the thoughtful feel composed, the statesman see no peril to the patriot fold his arms amidst all this? Are we ready for armies, navies, debts, and deep dishonor, without a effort to avert them? Are we prepared for the inevitable evils of foreign wars, without a effort to prevent them? Is there to be the substitution, to a great extent, of usurpation for law; the will of one man for the Constitution; the sword of the unsuccessful soldier for the wisdom of ages? Can we stand unmoved at such a revolution in the whole texture and operation of our institutions? Will we permit ourselves to become the Whigs, where are the Conservatives, where the honest strong men of the land, that they stay not the monstrous evils that threaten to overwhelm us?

The government paper admits that there is no prospect of peace, and boldly and falsely asserts that *the obstacles to peace are entirely in the hands of the Mexicans*. It goes on to say, "It is in our power at any moment, and has been from the day the first blow was struck, to effect an honorable peace. Not by conquest, however, nor by annexation, nor upon the principle of indemnity for all expenses, but by returning within our own boundaries, or even somewhat in advance of the frontiers, and firmly awaiting the subsidence of the troubled waters in Mexico." But how can we expect men who have some reason about them, some wish to serve their country, some courage to decide upon and pursue the proper measures to that end. Sooner or later something like this must take place, unless our countrymen shall give themselves up to endless war and its concomitants.

FROM THE BOSTON JOURNAL.

When the war with Mexico commenced it was confidently stated in various quarters, and believed by the Government, that the population of Santa Fe and California were dissatisfied with the Mexican government and laws, were ready to act in any enterprise which would free them from the thralldom in which they were held, would welcome a military force sent from this Republic with open arms, and gladly place themselves under the government of the United States. Our force took possession of that distant part of Mexico; they found the people unprovided with millaries, destitute of a warlike spirit, and unwilling as well as unprepared to resist. The principal cities were subdued almost without a blow, and the few inhabitants who joined the handful of troops under De Castro, and bravely sought to stem the torrent which threatened to sweep away their identity, were denounced by our chieftains as rebels and brigands, and proceeded against accordingly. The number of these brave and patriotic men, however, were few; wherever our troops appeared, opposition was withdrawn. The whole country was ours: new regulations and laws were established over a conquered people, and magistrates, selected from among the officers of the American army or navy, were appointed to rule over them and execute the laws.

Thus New Mexico and California became subjugated provinces; the territory was conquered by the sword, and it was found that the inhabitants, so far from entertaining friendly feelings towards us—so far from being desirous of putting themselves under our government, and seeking our protection—cherished towards us feelings of hatred, and nothing but the defenceless position, but their want of means, and especially of military resources and habits, prevented them from disputing with energy and desperation against the conquering native country, and dictating laws to the inhabitants.

It is found, accordingly, that wherever we have actual possession of a city or province by a sufficient military force, the people are submissive and respectful, promise good faith and allegiance to the United States, and avow the most friendly feelings towards us. But wherever we have merely nominal possession, and the moment our troops are withdrawn, the slumbering volcano bursts forth. Under the combined influence of love of country and hatred of invaders, the boldest citizens unite and organize a plan of resistance—a "rebellion," as it is called, ensues, and they wreak their vengeance on the few unfortunate soldiers who are found in their midst. Extermination is the work, and deeds are enacted the relation of which thrill the soul with horror.

The "rebellion" is eventually crushed by the re-appearance of our forces, and the insurgents—those who have sought to expel the invaders from their soil and to restore their wonted name—are denounced as brigands and assassins, to whom no mercy is shown. They are executed, and their families, if taken, they are *hanged* by the summary process of martial law, or, according to the latest advice from that quarter, are degraded by being *scurged in the public streets*. Such is the boasted conquest of California by the American arms. The record of the event on the page of history, is a shameful blot, and it is scarcely needful to this country to try but to the age to which we live.

The wrongs of Poland have been a favorite theme for the historian, the novelist, and the poet. The conduct of Russia, especially since the last revolution, or *rebellion*, as it is termed by the Czar and his satellites, is inveighed against as cruel and oppressive, in an extent unparalleled in the history of nations, but, alas! it is not less true, that the Russian empire, Mexico. Nicholas did not invade and conquer Poland; he inherited it from his ancestors; it was already by the tacit consent of all Europe, a part of his empire. And, when that revolution was overcome by numerical strength, he contented himself with quietly "removing" some of the most noble and energetic spirits of the nation, leaving behind him a degraded and debilitated people, and a ruler in Siberia, suffering dreadfully at the prospect of his coming reign.

Mr. Polk and acquire territory, and, having no desert in the mind zone to which we can exile the most troublesome among the citizens, we resort to the more expeditious mode of getting rid of them by strapping them to the gallows, and hanging them for property, stripping them of their garments and *stripping them in the public streets*, as an example to others to bear the yoke of oppression without resistance or even without a murmur. And in this way it is expected that the people will be conciliated, and assassinations, and murders, and massacres of Americans perpetrated with impunity, and the people will be taught that the only sufficient cause will long be remembered. We have not yet got through the first chapter in the history of its infamy. We fear there are other and fearful ones to follow.

FROM THE ST. LOUIS DAILY NEWS.

"An effective despotism is not to the government we ought for,"—*Jefferson's Notes.*

The press gives in detailed and varied accounts of the battle, and depicts in glowing colors every brilliant exploit of the war, and every deed of reckless daring performed by its actors and troops. And thus the young and the thoughtless are too often brought, unconsciously, to the opinion that nothing is glorious but war, and nothing patriotic but fighting.

While the young spirit of the country is misled by the constant exhibition of these brilliant spectacles, the public is in the ward of the real danger which threatens. It is not put upon its guard against the encroachments of official power upon the principles of the constitution, and upon the peaceful law-abiding spirit of our institutions. War is the natural enemy and sure destroyer of written constitutions and liberty, as established and guarded by law. The very principle of war is brute force and all its rights are but the rights of the strongest. He who has the supreme command in war is necessarily a despot. It is not an adviser, a governor, a president—he is a *commander*—and as the first duty and highest virtue of a soldier is to obey, the commander's will becomes the only law. And hence always "the laws are silent amidst arms."

Has not this evil practically and in fact come upon us?

For saying that by the present about the conduct of the President in bringing on this war without consulting the Congress, then in session, his conduct in prosecuting it is dangerous and alarming in the extreme. By his single authority, as commander of the army, he has assumed the power and delegated it to his subordinates to incorporate with our country conquered foreign States; and has, by military proclamation, imposed a code of civil laws, erected courts and appointed officials for the government of the conquered people; has declared that the people shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the military forms of judicial justice, has tried and executed some of them for pretended treason against this Government.

By his single authority, as Commander of the Army, he has imposed a tariff of import duties in all the ports of Mexico now under his power, or hereafter to be conquered. The revenue thus to be derived is not to go into the Treasury of the United States, but into the Treasury of the Government of the *Commander Polk*, to be collected by his military subordinates, and to be expended for military purposes as he may think fit to order. It is without any limitation as to the time of its continuance, or the amount to be raised, the particular objects to which it shall be appropriated.

Has not the President, by his single authority, as Commander, he has invaded territory and even now employing them conquering a foreign people and subjecting them to the civil rule of his own military dependants. Gen. Kearny enlisted a battalion of Mormons, who were emigrants from the United States, and already on their march to a foreign country, with the express stipulation, that they should not be treated as American soldiers, but that, at the expiration of the war, they should be discharged in *California*, with arms in their hands. Col. Fremont enlisted a body of 400 men "without any authority of law," and with them, *waging war upon his own footing*, granted a capitulation to the Governor of California and his army.

These things are certainly no part of the Army of the United States, of which, by the Constitution, the President is Commander in Chief; for, by the Constitution, Congress alone can raise armies, and Congress had nothing to do with the raising of these. They are *Commander Polk's*, or General Kearny's, or Col. Fremont's, for they raised them without lawful authority, and are using them as they please.

Has not the President, by his single authority, as Commander, he has raised troops to raise and maintain armies, limits the power, even in Congress, to appropriations of money not to exceed two years at a time. But, however the President and Congress may be limited at home by the constitution, the *Commander-in-Chief* is not to be balked by constitutional restrictions, in his high position as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. Having begun to raise troops of his own, to wage wars of his own, he must of course have a revenue of his own, to support his armies and advance his career of glory, independent of Congress. To this end the *Commander-in-Chief* has, by his own individual will, and at his own unchecked discretion, imposed a tariff of import duties in the ports of Mexico, and has raised troops to Mexico. The amount of this tariff, as purely discretionary with the *Commander-in-Chief*, and, yet, he has fixed no limit to its duration. He means to support his army with it, and of course he will need the revenue so long as he has occasion for an army. The *Commander-in-Chief* is, therefore, without law, levying a tariff of import duties in the ports of Mexico, and using it to raise his armies, and to support them. Last winter, as *President*, he could not persuade Congress to be liberal in the general case of the Anglo-Saxon race. They refused to grant the three millions for Santa Anna, unless with exceptions and provisos; and they refused to allow the tax on tea and coffee, which the President and Mr. Polk had imposed in the ports of Mexico, to be remitted to the war-torn and perplexed by constitutional restrictions and Congressional obstructions, he no longer relies upon his powers and influences as *civil President* of the United States, but as *Commander of the army* he raises men and money by his own inherent prerogative. "Give me money," said Caesar, and he will get men; and with my men I will get more money."

In the declining years of the Roman Empire, not only the Emperor an army, but every great officer of State had his own household troops. It is to be feared that the portion of history is not forgotten by our lawless rulers.

FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN OF JUNE 6.

"*Drus call*"—"God will it"—was the watchword among the warriors which Pope Urban II. and the thousand altar Priests and Bishops at the Council of Clermont sent forth to the warrior hosts of Christendom, in the First Crusade, to recover the Holy Land.

A horde of fanatic soldiers, in a semi-barbaric age, might believe that it was the will of God that they should reclaim the Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel who defiled it. But in the present era, after eight centuries of advanced civilization, when men attempt to fathom the purposes of the Most High have cause to do it with a more humble and reverent awe, as well as a more rational mind, few will believe that (as it was in which the Crusaders understood their battle-word) God wills it, that the warriors of the First Crusade should slaughter on the tomb of Him who died that peace and good will might prevail upon earth. The race of the prophets has been long extinct; the age of inspiration has passed away and *who*, of men, standing between mortality and its Maker, is called to interpret to us the judgments and announce the decrees of the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe. The fanaticism still lives and raves, but every sensible man feels the shock of the impity, when, in the grooves of our earthly affairs, the interposition of Heaven is asserted, and the will of God proclaimed as the sanction of human ambition and worldly passion.

It has become a common, a too common thing among us to talk of the *will of God* in the Anglo-American race in the New World as if they had been made manifest to us by some new revelation. Journalists and letter-writers take for granted, orators harangue about it, and even honorable members on the floors of Congress have assumed that the race of the Republic is to overrun and possess the whole continent from the Arctic to the Antarctic, and that the will of God perhaps we should disregard these prophetic announcements, coming from such quarters, as mere flowers and hyperboles of the imagination; but when the fashion extends, as it has in one or two instances done, to the reverend clergy, the evil becomes a serious one; for such a doctrine preached from the pulpit is doubly dangerous—it is dangerous to the peace of the Republic, and it is dangerous to the interests of religion. It is known that one revered clergyman in the South at the first sound of the guns of Palo Alto, abandoning his flock, or perhaps arming and leading it with him, marched a captain of volunteers to Matamoros, where he preached a sermon to a congregation of soldiers, representing them as the children of Israel, and the land of Mexico, which they were to conquer, as the land of the Canaanites, flowing with milk and honey, in which the Lord gave them as their spoil; and more recently, the papers have informed us of another reverend gentleman, not, however, a soldier, who in a pulpit addressed stretched the modern Canadian over the whole American literature and South American literature, and imposed a dreadful curse upon the prophet which shall become to generations a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak," and such presumption more than stables the modern Christian religion, coming from the lips of a modern Christian divine. *Who taught these teachers that this was our destiny*—he who commanded them to announce it? Who ordered them to say that the will of God was to give the land of Mexico to the mantle of inspired man?